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CUBA IN REVOLUTION:

A Statement of Facts.

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"Taxation without representation is tyranny."—*Lord Chatham.*

"Ask any man in Europe who opens his eyes for freedom—who dips his pen in ink that he may indite a sentence for freedom—whoever has a sympathy for freedom warm in his own heart,—ask him,—he will have no difficulty in telling you on which side your sympathies should lie."—*The Right Hon. John Bright, M.P.*

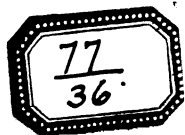
"A slave is a chattel—a piece of merchandise—a beast of burden—a dumb officer in the court of justice—an animated hoeing machine in the field—a kennelled dog at home—a leper and a pariah in the house of prayer—and an outcast from the graveyard of the white man."—*George Thompson.*

LONDON:

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AND IVY LANE, PATERNOSTER ROW.

1871.

Price One Shilling.



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PREFACE.

FULLY convinced that the cause of the Revolution now existing in Cuba, if rightly understood, cannot fail to command the sympathy and moral support of every enlightened and Christian people, the undersigned, acting in the name of the Republican Government of that Island, presents to the public the following plain statement of the causes which provoked and justify the uprising of the Cuban people, and of the principal events which have taken place during the three years of armed conflict, whereby the Patriot Government and forces have been enabled to maintain their control over two-thirds of the territory of the Island.

This same conflict must inevitably continue until the Spanish Government concedes willingly, or otherwise, to the people of Cuba that which they demand with singular unanimity and persistence. The Cuban people claim the right of self-government, they demand the immediate abolition of slavery, the freedom of the press, of opinion and of commerce. These things conceded upon the part of Spain, she may hope for the gratitude, the respect and the cordial friendship of the people of the Island. Denying them, she must expect only perpetual hatred, and continued warfare, maintained with unflinching zeal by the present generation of Cubans, and bequeathed, if necessary, as a holy inheritance to their children.

JUAN MANUEL MACIAS.

449, STRAND, CHARING CROSS.

April, 1871.

INTRODUCTION.

THE insurrection in Cuba, which has been waged, with varying fortunes, for a period of three years, is one of those dramatic episodes in the history of nations which have a profounder meaning than the mere superficial observer is likely to discover. Such a person will be only apt to see in Cuba a condition of anarchy which bids fair to substitute for law and order the hot sway of southern passions, and to issue in the total disruption of the social edifice. It is in one sense true that the world is now witnessing in that distracted Island the dissolution of society—that is to say, the dissolution of a slave society; but he who supposes that Cuba is in arms because the people naturally love war better than peace, that she is in a state of turbulence because the Cubans themselves are naturally turbulent, commits the error of looking at the effects of revolution instead of investigating its causes. It can have been no light motive which prompted a community that enjoyed an almost fabulous amount of material wealth and prosperity to take up arms against Spain, and to stake on the issue not only their own lives and fortunes but those of their wives and children; and now that 30,000 of those lives have been destroyed, and thousands of fortunes have been confiscated, they must assuredly be sustained in the continued prosecution of their heroic struggle by the conviction that they are fighting in a cause which is worthy of these terrible sacrifices.

In the following pages Colonel Macias has described the wrongs of his brave but unfortunate countrymen. After having been for generations oppressed and plundered by Spain, they at length demanded the rights of a free people; and conscious that the moral corruption of slavery infinitely outweighed the material benefits which they derived from that iniquitous system, they also demanded that slavery should be abolished. This language is not

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rhetorical; it only expresses the sober truth. Spain, at any moment, might have restored peace on this basis, she may even now save her supremacy, and derive a legitimate share of wealth from the colony, if she will only consent to mete out equal justice to both black and white. Is this asking too much? If it be asking too much, then Spain herself has no claim to the sympathy of the world. Every argument by which she justifies the overthrow of Queen Isabella may be urged with equal force in vindication of the attempt of the Cubans to get rid of a corrupt, lawless, and tyrannical government. If the Spanish revolution was right, then the Cuban revolution is also right; and at any rate, the Spaniards at this hour labour under the stigma of claiming for themselves liberties which they deny to their oppressed colonists. The late dynasty was perfectly consistent in refusing all redress to the Cubans, in rivetting anew the fetters which the people vainly endeavoured to break; but a government which professes to be based on the will of the nation, and to adopt the maxim of the French philosopher, that "equality and liberty constitute the physical and unalterable basis of every union of men in society," cannot adopt the vicious policy of its predecessors without adding to the sins of the latter the more shameful one of hypocrisy.

There probably never was a revolution with which the English people more thoroughly, or more unanimously, sympathised than the last one in Spain. Although attached to their own monarchy because its existence jeopardises no popular right, they saw with pleasure the disappearance of a royal despotism which was wanting in every element of moral and political stability. But their approval of the new order of things was founded on the belief that Spain herself would be transformed, that she would so far imitate the good example of England as to proclaim freedom to the negro, and to establish justice in her colonies. Ample time for the inauguration of such a policy has elapsed, but hitherto she has done nothing even to give effect to the aspirations of the most enlightened of her own statesmen. Thanks to English cruisers and English diplomacy, and to the energetic protests of the Spanish abolitionists, the African slave trade is now, so far at least as the Spanish

possessions are concerned, a thing of the past ; but slavery still flourishes in Cuba and Porto Rico, and the traffickers in human flesh have with cruel malignity substituted Chinese coolies for negroes in the markets of Havana, and on the sugar plantations of the West. An Act of emancipation has been passed by the Spanish Cortes, an Act so unsatisfactory in its provisions that, while the Spaniards in Cuba openly laugh at it as an idle piece of legislation, it has been publicly repudiated alike by the anti-slavery party in Spain, in Great Britain, and in the United States. That measure might with propriety be called an Act for the abolition of slavery at some future time, thereby not only cheating the present generation of slaves of their rights, but giving the slaveholding class ample time to conspire against a moral revolution which it is their passionate desire to prevent. One notable feature of the Act deserves notice. Slaves who have reached their sixtieth year are to be declared free ; in other words, their masters will, by this arrangement, get rid of the responsibility of maintaining them when they are unfit for the hard work of the plantations, and when therefore they are the least able to take care of themselves. The new law, moreover, does not, even on paper, propose to interfere with the coolie traffic, the horrors of which transcend those of the African slave trade. The unhappy coolie has not the physical stamina of the negro race, and the unremitting toil and brutal severity with which he is treated make his life one of hopeless misery. It is true that nominally his period of service is limited ; but if when it expires his constitution is not broken up, he is virtually compelled to re-indenture himself to his former, or to an equally implacable, task-master.

It is impossible that the people of this country can sympathise either with the dominant party in Cuba, which is engaged in perpetuating these enormities, or with its selfish mercantile allies in Madrid and Santander, who are openly agitating for what they are pleased to call a free negro immigration from Africa. We know what this means—we know what all such devices mean ; they are simply intended to throw dust in the eyes of the nations which have waged war against the African slave trade ; but not all the merchants in Madrid and Santander, nor the expenditure of all the

gold which the Spanish volunteers may be able to wring from the confiscated plantations of the patriots of Cuba, will succeed in persuading England to wink at another form of the traffic which it has cost her untold treasure, and thousands of precious lives, to abolish. The history of the West African squadron is one emphatic protest against those nefarious designs which are beginning to find favour among Spanish merchants of the baser sort.

The English people have a special claim to be interested in this subject, because in 1818 the British Government concluded a treaty with Spain for the abolition of the slave trade, and paid her a sum of 400,000*l.* as compensation for the pecuniary injury she would necessarily sustain by that act of justice. We know how that treaty was observed—we know that for nearly fifty years it was systematically violated, not by small lapses of international good faith, but on the most stupendous scale ever attempted in the annals of human crime, and with the guilty connivance of personages in the highest places, both in Spain and in Cuba. We know that in a period of twenty years, beginning with 1845, upwards of 400,000 negroes were, in defiance of treaty obligations, and in spite of the efforts of our cruisers, actually landed in Cuba, and that the trade developed an amount of bribery which tainted and corrupted every part of the political system of Spain, not only in her colonies but at home. A country which still honours the memories of Wilberforce and Buxton, and which has always taken the lead in upholding the personal and inalienable liberties of men, cannot be indifferent to the policy of Spain in Cuba, or help being concerned for the future of that unhappy island when it finds that the Spanish volunteers—the trusted confederates and representatives of the mother country—who are engaged in an unsuccessful attempt to stamp out what experience has proved to be a national insurrection, are all members of that party which succeeded in depopulating vast districts of Africa that they might convert negroes into human cattle. No one desires to hold Spain unduly responsible for the moral turpitude of these men ; but so long as her banner is upheld by them she must share the dishonour which attaches to their deeds. These Spanish volunteers, who all along have had from 30,000 to 40,000 regular troops placed under their control, who have the

Spanish fleet to guard their coasts, and who, by the administration of 3000 or 4000 confiscated estates, have ample wealth at their disposal, of course are impelled by the strongest motives to continue the prosecution of their war of extermination against the native Cubans, and equally against the innocent women and children, whose property has also been sequestered. Their pride and avarice are alike insensible to pity and to shame; but Spain is not so strong, nor is her government so firmly established, that she can afford to cast in her lot with the cruel adventurers, who are employing her soldiers to ravage the most beautiful and the most fertile island in the New World. For be it known that the war in Cuba has degenerated into a massacre, that men, women, and children are all given up to the sword, and that outrages against a defenceless sex have inflicted an ineffaceable stain on the Spanish cause. Thousands of women and children who have been nursed in luxury, and who could have had no experience whatever of the rougher ways of life, are now fugitives from their homes, and although half-naked and famishing, are glad to find a refuge in the woods, where they are at least safe from brutality and outrage.

Shall such a state of things continue? Upon Spain depends the answer to this question, and yet both England and the United States are entitled to a voice in framing that answer. These two nations are equally inspired with a feeling of friendship for the Spanish people. They wish well to Spain, and for that reason they are anxious to see the end of this sanguinary war. Spain needs allies, but she can have no ally whose moral support will be of the slightest use to her so long as she endeavours to exterminate a people who have the same right to live and to be free as herself. Since the revolution, the conduct of both the English and the American Governments towards Spain has been, to the last degree, loyal and conciliatory. If even this country should continue to remain a passive, but not uninterested or unsympathetic, spectator of events, what of the United States? In the great Republic there is but one party on the Cuban question, and that party consists of the whole nation. If the American people have not moulded the policy of the executive to their own will, it is because they have hoped against hope that Spain, having tried the sword and failed, would

see what might be accomplished by the combined influence of mercy and justice. But a moment may come—and there are portents which justify the warning—when Spain will discover that she has let slip the golden opportunity of conciliating the Cubans, and that her sovereignty, which might yet be reconciled with the autonomy of the Island, has suddenly passed into the hands of her powerful neighbour.

In his recent speech to the Cortes the new king says “he indulges in the flattering hope of the prompt pacification of the island of Cuba.” If he is a real king—not a royal cipher—he may realise that hope; but he can never expect to realise it by brute force. It is to the honour of Italy that she has never shared the guilt of the African slave trade, and that, until Amadeus ascended the Spanish throne, no Italian prince ever ruled over a population of black slaves. It is impossible that he can desire this part of his rule to be prolonged; or that he can regard, without apprehension, the prospect of his reign being weakened and discredited by civil discord in Cuba and Porto Rico. Indeed, it requires no prophet to predict that his reign cannot be enduring unless it be peaceful. If, happily, he obeys the instincts of his own heart and restores peace to an Island which can only be tranquillised by justice, he will be supported by the majority of the liberal party in Spain, including those anti-slavery societies which comprise so much of the intelligence, patriotism, and sound political economy of the Peninsula. As for England and the United States, it is impossible that, on a question of this nature, either government will fail to express the national sentiment—a sentiment which is now, and must always be, in favour of universal and impartial freedom.

F. W. CHESSON.

LONDON, 10th April, 1871.

CUBA IN REVOLUTION.

I.

THE AREA, RESOURCES, AND GOVERNMENT OF THE ISLAND.

Area.—Cuba is the largest and most fertile of the West Indies, and comprises, according to the Statesman's Year Book, 48,589 English square miles; its length from East to West is about 650 geographical miles; in width from North to South, it varies from 21 to 135 miles.

Territorial Division.—The Island was divided by the Spanish Government into three large departments: the Western, Central, and Eastern. These departments were subdivided into thirty-two districts or jurisdictions, and the latter into *partidos*, of which there were 166 in all. Notwithstanding this, the people are accustomed to denominate the territories into which they consider the Island divided, as follows: *Vuelta Abajo*, the portion embraced from the meridian of Havana to Cape San Antonio, the western extremity of the Island; *Vuelta Arriba*, from the meridian of Havana toward the East as far as Cienfuegos; *Las Cinco Villas*, from the meridian of Cienfuegos to that of Santo-Espiritu; *Tierra Adentro*, from that of Santo-Espiritu to that of Holguin toward the East.

Population.—The population of Cuba, according to the last census of June, 1862, was as follows:—

WHITES—European Stock—Males	...	...	403,337	
" " " Females	...	...	326,620	
				729,957
" Yucatese—Males	...	...	507	
" " Females	...	...	236	
				743
" Chinese—Males	...	...	34,025	
" " Females	...	...	25	
				34,050
Total Whites	...	...		764,750

COLOURED—Free—Males	...	...	...	108,097	
„ „ Females	...	...	...	113,320	221,417
„ Captured Emancipados—Males	...	...	...	3,171	
„ „ Females	...	...	...	1,350	4,521
„ Slaves—Males	...	...	...	220,305	
„ „ Females	...	...	...	148,245	368,550
Total Coloured	...	...	...		594,488

RECAPITULATION.

Whites	...	...	...	...	...	764,750
Coloured	...	...	...	...	...	594,488
TOTAL	...	...	...	...	...	1,359,238

Other authorities made the population something more; and considering the increase since the census of 1862, there are now, probably, a million and a half inhabitants on the Island.

One feature of the population is worthy of particular notice, and that is, that over 700,000 of the people are native whites of pure European stock. There has not been, as in Mexico, Central America, and some of the South American States, a mixture with Indians, for there were no Indians left in Cuba, and there has been little amalgamation with the negroes. The existence of slavery and the pride of race naturally prevented the mixture of whites and negroes to any considerable extent. Of all the so-called Spanish American countries or colonies, not one can boast of a higher or more intellectual type of people than Cuba.

In an article in the *North American Review*, January, 1849, on the poetry of Spanish America, attributed to Longfellow, the following language is used with reference to the people of Cuba: "Passing eastward across the Gulf, our eyes rest on the Queen of the Antilles, on fair and glorious Cuba, that 'summer isle of Eden,' whose name fills the mind with the most enchanting pictures of tropical beauty, the most delicious dreams of splendour and luxury and magnificent ease—that garden of the West, gorgeous with perpetual flowers, and brilliant with the plumage of innumerable birds, beneath whose glowing sky the teeming earth yields easy and abundant harvest to the toil of man, and whose capacious harbours

invite the commerce of the world. In this island, so richly endowed with material gifts, we find the noblest and loftiest poets of Spanish America, men of true and universal sympathies, of high aspiration and heroic character, whose souls are fired with great ideas and unselfish hopes, whose poems are not stereotyped sentimentalities, tender or terrible, but manly outpourings of serious feeling, full of a genuine, high-toned enthusiasm for great and generous objects."

Out of the 730,000 whites of European stock, there are not more than 100,000 Spaniards, including 30,000 or 40,000 troops, and numbers of officials. All the rest are native Cubans. The total coloured, or negro population, apart from the comparatively few Chinese and Yucatec, as shown by the table given above, was a little less than 600,000. Of these, according to the census of 1862, 221,000 were free. The slaves at that time numbered 368,000.

But slavery no longer exists in Cuba, except where the Spanish Government is in power and maintains it. A simple statement of facts will establish beyond all doubt the existence of a determination on the part of the Cuban revolutionary government to carry out an anti-slavery policy. When the revolution commenced the leaders contemplated the gradual abolition of slavery. In the Declaration of Independence, on the 10th of October, 1868, the Cubans declare: "We desire the gradual abolition of slavery with indemnification." But they soon advanced beyond this, and, therefore, in the constitution of the Cuban Republic, adopted on the 10th of April, 1869, it is declared, in article 24, "*All the inhabitants of the republic of Cuba are absolutely free.*" This question, then, is set at rest for ever, so far as the Cuban revolution or the Cubans can settle it.

Commerce.—The trade of Cuba is of a varied character, embracing not only those productions which are peculiar to the tropics, such as sugar, coffee, and tobacco, but also wheat, rye, barley, and fruits which are more commonly grown in the temperate zone. Of sugarcane, Cuba produces a fifth part of the general production of the world, England alone importing 183,284 tons. It is rather difficult to obtain reliable data showing the amount of the imports and exports of recent years. In 1859, however, they were, according

to statistics given in Pezuela's Geographical and Statistical Dictionary, as follows :—

Imports	\$43,465,679
Exports	57,455,185
Total	<u>\$100,920,864</u>

The imports and exports were annually increasing up to the time of the commencement of the revolution ; so much so, that it has been computed that the increase during the ten years from 1859 to 1869 amounted to 50 per cent.

From a return recently issued at Washington, U.S., the following figures are extracted, showing the trade of Cuba and Porto Rico with other nations :—

With the United States	79,186,979 tons.
„ Great Britain	29,183,850 „
„ Spain	24,500,796 „
„ France	16,075,815 „
„ Bremen	3,358,621 „
„ British North America... ..	2,975,869 „
„ Belgium	2,683,763 „
„ Holland	648,807 „
Total of Tons	<u>158,614,500</u>

The value of the commercial intercourse between Cuba and Porto Rico and Great Britain is shown by the following tabular statement, embracing the five years from 1865 to 1869, inclusive :—

Years.	Exports from Cuba and Porto Rico to Great Britain.	Imports of British Produce into Cuba and Porto Rico.
	£	£
1865 ...	5,063,839	2,193,677
1866 ...	2,961,338	2,240,975
1867 ...	4,267,684	2,266,624
1868 ...	4,830,295	2,519,271
1869 ...	4,823,331	1,088,517

This general increase, however, gives but a faint idea of the resources of the Island, as trade has materially suffered from the high tariffs, and generally repressive policy pursued by Spain in all its dealings with Cuba. The means of extending the commerce of Cuba require only freedom from control, as but a comparatively small portion of the land is under cultivation, though most of it is capable of yielding valuable produce, whilst the facilities for shipment are most exceptionally favourable. There are more than twenty excellent harbours in the Island, some of which will admit vessels of the largest class, and are well protected. The following table will show the relative extent of the trade of Cuba with other countries.—

United States of America	...	...	...	...	35.94 per cent.
England	...	...	...	...	22.52 "
Spain	...	...	...	...	19.48 "
France	...	...	...	...	8.33 "
Germany, Holland and Belgium	...	...	...	...	7.02 "
Spanish America	...	...	...	...	4.49 "
Denmark, Sweden, Italy and Norway	...	...	...	...	1.84 "
Austria, Russia and Portugal	...	...	...	...	0.15 "
China, Rio Congo and San Domingo	...	...	...	...	0.04 "
					<hr/> 99.81
Mercantile Depôt	...	...	...	...	0.19
					<hr/> 100.00

Public Revenues.—The amount of taxes collected in 1866 by the Spanish Government was \$26,806,382. As we have no later official reports, we estimate that, with the new taxes imposed in 1867, the public revenues in 1868 must have amounted to \$35,000,000. About \$12,000,000 of this amount is derived from the Custom House, \$2,000,000 from the government lottery, \$11,000,000 from taxes upon the productions of the soil, and the balance from taxes on trade and other sources. To this amount there can be added from \$15,000,000 to \$20,000,000 more, which the people pay in fraudulent exactions and contributions.

The Government of Madrid has been receiving for the last ten years, from Cuba, from \$5,000,000 to \$6,000,000 annually, called the *ultra-marine surplus* ; and it has made Cuba pay the expenses of

the Penitentiary of Fernando Po, off the coast of Africa, which costs not less than \$200,000 a year. Cuba also paid the expenses incurred by the Mexican expedition in 1863, which amounted to \$10,000,000, and of the war with St. Domingo, which amounted to about \$22,000,000.

It is not to be supposed, from the word *surplus* being applied to the amount of money taken by the Madrid Government from Cuba, that it is a surplus remaining after all the wants of a civilised people are attended to. Far from this being true, we learn from the official reports published by the Spanish Government, that in 1862 only \$84,233 were devoted to public schools, and in 1866, only \$194,571 were spent on public works, and that to invest this small amount, it was necessary to pay to *employés* \$106,249. The few public schools which are scattered through the country are generally supported by the local city councils. The Spanish Government has ordered most of them to be closed since the breaking out of the war.

None of the railroads on the Island have received any assistance. Neither hospitals nor asylums for the poor have been established, but, on the contrary, the Government has appropriated to itself different sums given by private citizens for those purposes. Among a host of instances, this was done with a donation of \$100,000 made by Donna Maria Josefa Santa Cruz, to found a hospital, and a like sum raised from a fair got up by Don Tomas Reina, for the purpose of building an asylum for the poor. No one knows what has become of these funds since the Spanish officials took possession of them.

Government.—The government of Spain in Cuba has always been an absolute military despotism, personified in the Captain-General of the Island, who has exercised an unlimited power, varying in arbitrariness according to the individual disposition of the functionary for the time being. The powers vested in the Captain-General are stated in a singularly explicit manner in the following royal decree issued from Madrid in 1825:—

“His Majesty, the King our Lord, desiring to obviate the inconvenience which might result, in extraordinary cases, from a division of command and from the interferences of powers and prerogatives of the respective officers; for the important end of preserving in

that precious island (Cuba) his legitimate sovereign authority and the public tranquillity, through proper means, has resolved, in accordance with the opinion of his council of ministers, *to give to your excellency the fullest authority, bestowing upon you all the powers which by the royal ordinances are granted to the governors of besieged cities.* In consequence of this, his majesty gives to your excellency *the most ample and unbounded power, not only to send away from the island any persons in office, whatever be their occupation, rank, class, or condition,* whose continuance therein your excellency may deem injurious, or whose *conduct, public or private, may alarm you,* replacing them with persons faithful to his majesty, and deserving of all the confidence of your excellency; but also to suspend the execution of any order whatsoever, or any general provision *made concerning any branch of the administration,* as your excellency may think most suitable to the royal service."

The Captain-General is assisted by what are called Commanding Generals or Governors of Departments, who take upon themselves many of the executive functions of their superior. They have under their orders the lieutenant-governors, commanders of the thirty-two jurisdictions of the Island. These are divided into *partidos*, at the head of which there is a functionary named by the governor, and who entirely depends upon him for orders. As to the administration of these lower officials nothing more appropriate can be given than the opinion of the Cuban delegates to Madrid in 1866: "The lieutenant-governors, invested as they are with the military command and the presidency of the councils, as well as directors of the captains of *partidos* in their small precincts, are the sources of a great calamity for the Island of Cuba. Nominated by the superior civil governor, without the slightest bond of interest with the inhabitants whom they are sent out to govern, without the slightest care for the opinion that may be formed of their conduct in the locality where they go to pass a few years of their lives, and to which they never expect to return when once their commands are given up, they become petty tyrants who cannot bear any sort of contradiction. If disposed to be bad, all the avenues towards becoming rich are open before them, at the cost of the people governed. If influenced by sentiments of honour—they are, at any rate, ignorant of the wants of their districts,

and have no personal interest other than inaugurating some work, however useless it may be, that may perpetuate the remembrance of their administration. This, let it be said, does not prevent the greater part of the municipal resources from being consumed in expenses of representation, house expenses, and pay of *employés*. We have seen various localities in the interior of the Island where though the municipal moneys levied and collected were large enough, yet were almost entirely consumed in pay of *employés*, house rent and furniture, and if there were any funds remaining unspent these were devoted to the laying out of a *paseo* or square, in which some stone was found erected to the honour of the captain-general, his wife, or daughter."

If, after having analytically examined the administrative mechanism we would reconstruct it synthetically, we should find ourselves in the presence of a despotic government of the first class ; one that can condemn to prison, banish from the country, or send out whom it chooses, without the intervention of the tribunals, and even go so far as to *confiscate property* ; that imposes and distributes the taxes without the tax-payers having a voice, as the country has neither a provincial nor a municipal representation, not even for the purpose of looking into its necessities. Nor has it the right to discuss its own proper interests, or to participate with the government in the direction of public affairs. It is not permitted even to publish opinions or thoughts, unless under a severe and fastidious censorship ; and to this is sometimes added an examination by the ecclesiastical authority.

The municipal representation exists really only in appearance—it is a mere phantasm. Chosen by the government from a list presented by the largest tax-payers, there is nothing independent or initiative connected with it. It has no power to control local interests, nor to fix or distribute the municipal taxes, except under the presidency of the Governor and with the ratification of the Captain-General. The administration of real property, of the taxes, and of works of public utility, is in the hands of the Governor, the intervention of the Council being for nothing more than to give an aspect of legality to what is done. Thus we behold the principal towns in a most repugnant condition of filth, without

communications, with streets seldom paved, through which run deep sewers that the rain fills, and in which all the filth of the neighbourhood is deposited. There are no decent hospitals, nor asylums for the mad. There is an establishment in Havana, but in the other towns lunatics and madmen are placed in the common jail, as was the case in the middle ages. These towns are left without means of any kind to prevent the approach of disease, or to succour the indigent ; and notwithstanding this, the Councils are perplexed by the weight of an enormous debt, which is never diminished. Such is the state of the large towns. The condition of the smaller ones is as bad as can be imagined. This is so in Santiago de Cuba, the second city of the Island, which for eighteen months did not pay its gas bills, nor police, nor school expenses, and all the other towns are in nearly the same state. Moreover, there is no regular line of roads to unite the centres of the population. The administration of the towns is an index of the administration of the whole country. Here we see the fruits of an absolute government imposed by the mother country.

Notwithstanding the manifest intention conveyed in the above royal decree to govern Cuba as a conquered province with all the rigour of martial law, the Island had always been regarded as an integral portion of the Spanish Monarchy, and therefore had undergone the same political vicissitudes as the mother country, electing and sending its representatives to the Congress of the Nation, when any existed, till 1837, when the representatives legally elected by Cuba and Porto Rico were excluded from the Constituent Cortes under pretext that the Colonies were to be governed by *special laws*. From that time the habit of ruling despotically, and of indulging in a spirit of spoliation, continually grew stronger in Cuba. The Captains-General transformed themselves into irresponsible dictators. Their inferiors followed their example, neglecting their duty to make money at all hazard. The whole judicial and municipal systems seemed to become corrupt. Civil cases of the simplest nature were tried by military commissions composed of men altogether incompetent to perform the duties of the position they had assumed, and who were notoriously influenced by the bribes of the suitors ; heavy taxes were levied upon the Cubans without in any way consulting them,

and if any chose to utter remonstrances against such proceedings they were looked upon as rebels; the Cubans were carefully excluded from every position of trust and confidence; while the collection of the revenue was placed in the hands of ignorant and unscrupulous men, who appropriated to their own use large sums belonging to the public treasury.

The press was enslaved by the most rigid and capricious censorship, and the Cubans lost all participation in public affairs. At every step they were terrified with the epithet of *bad Spaniards*, or traitors, and under pretence of supposed conspiracies, they were arbitrarily incarcerated, exiled, or put to death.

The Government drew a dividing line between the peninsular Spaniards and the natives of Cuba. The latter were driven from all profitable occupations, in order to make room for Europeans; molested in the enjoyment of their property, and obliged in order to obtain a precarious personal security, constantly to make presents and pay black-mail to the agents of the Government.

The African slave trade was encouraged, notwithstanding formal treaties with Great Britain, and a political excuse was found for it under the name of a *counterbalancing of races*, in order to overawe the creoles with the increasing number of negroes, when in reality the only object of the Spaniards was to enrich themselves with the large profits arising from that inhuman traffic. The abolition of slavery would alone effect an important benefit to the trade of Cuba; for it has been clearly demonstrated in an article published in the *Revue Contemporaine*, that the productions of slave labour are much dearer than those of free labour. The following is the substance of the calculation.

Let us suppose an estate which needs 300 hands; if the work be done by free labour, at half a dollar per day for each hand, the number of work days being 250 during the year, which is the largest number employed in agriculture, the proprietors would pay \$37,500. But the Cuban estate owners, in order to have 300 day labourers must employ at least 350 slaves, for from this number a deduction must be made for the old, infirm, and children. These slaves at the moderate price of \$500 each, represent a capital of \$175,000; they must be lodged, fed, clothed, and even buried; so that, supposing the expense

of keeping them to be equal to half the wages of the free labourers, they cannot cost less than \$31,937 to the proprietor at the end of 365 days, which sum added to the interest of \$175,000 at 10 per cent., makes \$49,437,* the result being an expenditure of \$11,937 more than in the first case supposed, and which did not involve the necessity of employing a capital of \$175,000.

It is not alone by reason of the great amount of capital employed that the cost of production is increased ; it is also by reason of the inferiority of slave labour. This inferiority results from ignorance, the want of enterprise and the absence of emulation on the part of the labourers, and these defects, in their turn, throw their influence back upon the proprietor. Hence it happens that there is to be seen in Cuba none of those implements of which other nations make such admirable use, and which are adapted to all kinds of farm labour from the rude work of felling timber to the delicate process of sowing seed. There are no sawing machines to cut up the giants of the forest, no apparatus to draw up the roots from the earth, no steam machines, no machines to sow or to plant, no scythes to cut the cane as is done with wheat and hay. All this is performed by muscular force, with instruments of the most primitive kind. This requires more men and animals, and, as a matter of course, more capital with less product. The scanty profit of slave labour, united to the cheapness and abundance of land, has conduced to a system of cultivation in which there is asked from the soil that which cannot be exacted from imperfect labour. For this reason we see agriculture driven to new land, because of the sterility which comes upon that already tilled, thus abandoning considerable capital and leaving behind devastation and desert places. The cultivation loses in intensity what it gains in extent.

Army and Navy.—In the month of October, 1868, Spain had in Cuba twelve regiments of infantry, one corps of engineers, one of artillery, two of cavalry, one section of civil guards, one regiment of armed firemen, one regiment of prison guards, two companies to do duty in the military hospital, and five regiments of infantry and cavalry militia.

* The interest is supposed to be 10 per cent., but the common rate is 12 per cent.

These forces comprised the following :—

Regular troops of all arms, including officers	...	...	14,300
Civil guard	...	...	640
Prison guard	...	...	120
Armed firemen	...	...	1,000
Infantry and cavalry militia	...	...	3,400
Soldiers who had served their time, but were kept in service			300
			<hr/> 19,760

In which are included the garrisons of the forts, military hospitals, &c. In fact, out of these troops, only 10,000 regulars could take the field. This regular force was distributed as follows :—1500 in the Eastern Department, 3000 in the Central, and the balance in the Western.

Their armament was first-class, although some of the arms were not of the latest styles, for they had only received at that time 6000 Remington rifles; there was besides a large supply of ammunition and war material.

The following vessels were then in Cuban waters :—

Two steam frigates, wood screw propellers, together	...	91 guns.
Two second class steamers	... ..	12 "
Five third class	... ..	10 "
Five screw steamers, schooner rigged	... ..	15 "
Total, 14 men of war, with	... ..	<hr/>128 guns.

II.

THE REVOLUTION.

The earliest effort of the Cubans for freedom was made about the time the Spanish colonies of South America acquired their independence. Venezuela, which was then at war with Spain, was fitting out an expedition to help the Cubans, but the United States opposed the movement. Cuba has been suffering under a relentless tyranny ever since, though still struggling at times to shake it off. Her endeavours have brought about not only the persecution and even execution of many illustrious Cubans, but also that of high-minded Spaniards, such as General Lorenzo, who, while Governor of Santiago de Cuba in 1836, proclaimed there the liberal constitution promulgated in Spain, for which Captain-General Tacon sent from Havana a heavy body of troops against him and his constitutional followers. Several years later many Cubans, who remonstrated against the slave trade, were persecuted for having done so, and nearly all of them driven into exile. Afterwards, in 1844, military commissions were set at work all over the Western Department of Cuba to suppress an alleged conspiracy. The guilty parties were found chiefly among the rich free coloured men, whose property was, of course, confiscated, and their lives taken by wholesale on the scaffold, while not a few of them died under the lash, which was freely and mercilessly used to compel them to confession. This was followed in 1848 by a conspiracy of the white people under the lead of Gen. Lopez, who, being detected before his plans were matured for an uprising in the central part of the Island, fled to the United States. In 1850 he renewed his efforts at the head of some 600 men, and landed at Cardenas. He failed in this attempt to free Cuba, and returned to the United States. During the subsequent year partial uprisings took place, and Lopez sailed for Cuba once more, with about 400 men, to assist his friends to achieve their independence ; but he again failed, and he, with many of his followers, were

executed. However, the Cubans, persevering in their determination to be free, renewed their plans to that end, and a well organized movement was started under Gen. Quitman, but fell through in 1855, with the loss of Ramon Pinto (a liberal Spaniard) and the banishment of many distinguished Cubans, to say nothing of a large outlay of money. Nevertheless, the Cubans did not despair, and a few years afterwards began to work again for their freedom.

A party sprang up at that time, which was called the Reformist Party; and although it was not in consonance with the feelings of many of the creoles, who had very little faith in the sincerity of the Spanish Government, and still less in that of its agents in Cuba, they did all in their power, consistently with their dignity, to come to a settlement which might recognise and assure the rights of the colony without impairing the interests of the nation; and after great and protracted efforts, they succeeded, in 1866, in obtaining the institution of an inquiry in Madrid, the object of which was to consider and determine upon the political, economical, and administrative reforms which were required by Cuba and Porto Rico. The Commissioners elected by the City Councils of Cuba and Porto Rico fulfilled their task honourably, demanding political liberties under the form of colonial self-government, free trade, and the abolition of slavery; but they very soon discovered that they had been imposed upon.

The only reform which the Government decreed for Cuba, was a new system of taxation considerably more oppressive than the one they had before. Meanwhile, the Government uttered the impudent falsehood that the new system originated with the Commissioners. As for the rest, if any change took place in the Island, it was to renew and enlarge the unlimited power of the Captain-General; to suspend the civil courts of justice, in order to establish courts-martial, to decree the banishment of hundreds of peaceful citizens, without trial, and to increase the flock of corrupt officials who preyed on the vitals of the country.

When the late Spanish revolution broke out the advanced party at once matured their plans for liberating Cuba from the military sway of Spain. That revolution improved their opportunity, and

on the 10th of October, 1868, they rose up in arms, and made a Declaration of Independence, dated at Manzanillo on that day. The following are extracts from that instrument :—

“In arming ourselves against the tyrannical government of Spain, we must, according to precedent in all civilized countries, proclaim before the world the cause that impels us to take this step, which, though likely to entail considerable disturbances upon the present, will ensure the happiness of the future.

“It is well known that Spain governs the island of Cuba with an iron and blood-stained hand. The former holds the latter deprived of political, civil and religious liberty. Hence the unfortunate Cubans being illegally prosecuted and thrown into exile, or executed by military commissions in times of peace : hence their being kept from public meeting, and forbidden to speak or write on affairs of State : hence their remonstrances against the evils that afflict them, being looked upon as the proceedings of rebels, from the fact that they are bound to keep silence and obey : hence the never-ending plague of hungry officials from Spain, to devour the product of their industry and labour : hence their exclusion from public stations and want of opportunity to skill themselves in the art of government : hence the restrictions to which public instruction with them is subjected, in order to keep them so ignorant as not to be able to know and enforce their rights in any shape or form whatever : hence the navy and standing army which are kept upon their country at an enormous expenditure from their own wealth, to make them bend their knees and submit their necks to the iron yoke that disgraces them : hence the grinding taxation under which they labour, and which would make them all perish in misery but for the marvellous fertility of their soil. On the other hand, Cuba cannot prosper as she ought to, because white immigration, that suits her best, is artfully kept from her shores by the Spanish Government. And as Spain has many a time promised us, Cubans, to respect our rights, without having hitherto fulfilled her promises ; as she continues to tax us heavily, and by so doing is likely to destroy our wealth ; as we are in danger of losing our property, our lives and our honour under further Spanish domination ; as we have reached a depth of degradation unutterably revolting to manhood ; as great nations have sprung from revolt against a similar disgrace after exhausted pleading for relief ; as we despair of justice from Spain through reasoning, and cannot longer live deprived of the rights which other people enjoy, we are constrained to appeal to arms to assert our rights in the battle-field, cherishing the hope that our grievances will be a sufficient excuse for this last resort to redress them and secure our future welfare.

“To the God of our conscience and to all civilised nations we submit the sincerity of our purpose. Vengeance does not mislead us, nor is ambition our guide. We only want to be free, and see all men with us equally free, as the Creator intended mankind to be. Our earnest belief is that all men are brethren.

Hence our love of toleration, order and justice in every respect. We desire the gradual abolition of slavery with indemnification; we admire universal suffrage, as it insures the sovereignty of the people; we demand a religious regard for the inalienable rights of man, as the basis of freedom and national greatness."

Carlos Manuel de Cespedes, an able lawyer and wealthy planter of Bayamo, was the first to raise the standard of independence on his estate, Demajagua, in the district of Manzanillo, at a short distance from the town of Yara, of which he immediately took possession, on the 10th of October, 1868. One hundred and forty-seven men, without arms, except forty-five fowling pieces, four rifles, and a few pistols and machetes (long swords), were all the force that Cespedes possessed when he took this daring step. On the 12th, he already had 4,000 men, but indifferently armed; towards the end of the month his army numbered 9,700, and on the 8th of November, 12,000.

On the 13th of October, the Cubans obtained their first triumph over the Spaniards, defeating them at Yara, Baire, and Jiguani. The latter is an important town, and was captured by Donato Marmol, with many prisoners, among them the governor of the town. On the 15th they laid siege to Bayamo, a city of 10,000 inhabitants, which they took on the 18th, and Cespedes established his government there. On the 8th of November, after having sustained various encounters around Tunas and Baire, and forced Colonel Demetrio Quiros, who had marched against them from Santiago de Cuba, to retreat with great loss, the patriots advanced to within a mile of that city (the capital of the Eastern Department), which, by cutting off the aqueduct, they brought to great distress. On the 23rd they were masters of the towns of Caney and Cobre, where they remained for more than a month, until it became necessary to concentrate all their forces to oppose General Valmaseda, who with a large army was marching on Bayamo.

On the 28th of October the jurisdiction of Holguin rose in arms, and on the 4th of November the Cubans of Camaguey, who captured a train with arms and ammunition at Nuevitas, taking prisoners the soldiers who guarded it. Valmaseda, on learning the formidable proportions which the revolution had assumed in the Central Department, then passed by sea from Manzanillo to Vertientes and

from Vertientes to Puerto Principe, but finding his position in that city untenable, took refuge in Nuevitas. From thence towards the end of December he commenced his march in the direction of Bayamo, which he reached on the 16th of January, finding it a heap of ruins; for Cespedes, unprovided with the means of resisting a regular siege, supported by artillery, had set fire to the whole city with the unanimous consent of its inhabitants.

The insurrection presented such a formidable attitude, notwithstanding the evacuation of Bayamo, that Captain-General Don Domingo Dulce thought it prudent to attempt pacification by conciliatory means, and sent two commissioners with letters to Carlos Manuel de Cespedes, one of whom wrote to the Cuban leader, requesting an interview. Cespedes agreed to this, expressing at the same time his conviction that all efforts to secure a compromise would be fruitless, the patriots being resolved to conquer their independence. This interview never took place on account of the death of the Cuban leader Augustus Arango, who was murdered by the Spanish volunteers at Puerto Principe, although he was at the time the bearer of a safe-conduct issued by the Spanish Governor of Manzanillo, and was entering the town for the purpose of carrying on pacific negotiations.

The second commissioner was not more fortunate in his attempt. He delivered to Cespedes a letter from General Dulce, dated at Havana, on the 14th of January, in which the General expressed himself desirous of terminating the war that was destroying all the elements of wealth of that favoured country; but Cespedes made answer that he had at that moment heard of the murder of Augustus Arango, and that thenceforth he would not enter into conference with the Spanish Government.

From this time there was no further talk of peace. The Cubans throughout the Island made common cause with President Cespedes. Unfortunately for them they had not command of the sea, from which the Spanish authorities were able to derive unlimited supplies of men, of arms, and of ammunition. But the Cubans retired into those extensive districts of the island whither they could not be followed by the Spaniards without the certainty of serious losses

and of possible disaster. The war, in the very nature of things, assumed the character of a guerilla struggle, and therefore in its main features it may be said to resemble the revolution which proved successful in the neighbouring island of St. Domingo, where, although Spain was supported by treachery, she was utterly unable to carry out her schemes of conquest. Guerilla warfare, as the experience of the South American Republics clearly shows, renders the subjugation of a patriotic people by a foreign power practically impossible, that is to say, if the people themselves possess, in addition to courage and persistence, the advantage of good leadership, and the conviction that their cause is one which justifies the cruel sacrifices of a war *à outrance*. Cuba possesses, in a high degree, all these elements of strength. In the interior of the Island the patriots are invincible; while, at the same time, as the campaigns of 1869, 1870, and now of 1871, prove beyond all doubt, they can attack, harass, and even defeat their enemies who may be bold enough to act on the aggressive. It may be true that in 1871 Cubans and Spaniards both occupy the same relative position, from a military point of view, as that which they occupied more than two years ago; but, in the meanwhile, the Cubans are acquiring that experience of the art of war which makes good soldiers. Moreover, having lost everything which the Spaniards could take they have nothing more to lose except honour, with which they will not part so long as life lasts. On the other hand, the troops sent from Spain have again and again been decimated by war, disease, and desertion. These troops are unused to a climate which sorely tries the constitution of Europeans, even when they are exposed to none of those hardships which are inseparable from military operations. The war has been a perpetual drain upon the Spanish army, and ultimately a point must be reached when she will no longer be able to satisfy the requisitions of the volunteers of Havana for more men. At all events, all the chances are in favour of the Cubans, who are fighting in their own country, where they are as much at home in the woods and mountain fastnesses as they are in the more settled districts of the Island; and who are as well able to carry on the struggle

during the more than tropical heat of midsummer as in the colder months of the year. Many pages might be occupied with a recital of the long series of engagements which have taken place since the revolution was first proclaimed; but these would hardly interest the reader, who may, however, rest assured that the contest will not terminate until the Spaniards are prepared to make a just and honourable peace.

But although it is unnecessary to record the military events of the war, we must protest against the remorseless cruelty with which it has been waged by the Spanish troops. Women and children have been murdered after nameless wrongs, and in many instances condemned to death by military courts. Whole families, old and young alike, have been hacked to pieces by machetes. Children of tender years in the presence of their mothers, and mothers in the presence of their children, have been outraged and murdered wherever the Spanish volunteers have marched. Prisoners have been invariably killed after horrible tortures. The bodies of the dead have been habitually mutilated with grotesque indecency, and if this practice has ceased at the present hour, it is only because the volunteers, according to the latest advices, prefer to roast their unhappy victims alive. No better proof of the brutalising influence of the war upon Spanish public opinion in the Island could be given than the fact that details of these crimes and outrages are published in official documents or public journals, without exciting a single word of protest on the part of men who claim to be civilized. It is, however, impossible that their indifference to acts of wanton barbarity will be shared by other nations. On the contrary, we appeal with confidence to the moral opinion of mankind, which, however it may tolerate necessary warfare, must ever brand with the stigma of infamy both those who perpetrate and those who sanction the execution of prisoners of war, or the massacre of women and children, and other innocent persons.

III.

SPANISH REINFORCEMENTS AND FINANCES.

Since the commencement of the war, Spain has sent out to Cuba, according to the statement made in the Cortes, by Gen. Prim, and by more recent authorities, over 60,000 men, besides which nine battalions, and about thirty companies, numbering in all about 12,000 men, have been raised in the island and sent to the seat of war.

The Spanish volunteers, numbering 80,000, are well organised, drilled, and equipped with the best arms purchased in the United States ; but they are confined to the cities, and take but very little part in the fighting.

The navy, which, as we have before stated, was composed in October, 1868, of

14 vessels containing 128 guns.

has been since reinforced with the following :—

2 Iron Clads	...	...	...	...	48	„
2 First Class Wooden Steamers	...	...	...	...	85	„
6 Second Class	„	...	...	...	69	„
1 Third Class	„	...	...	...	2	„
4 Steam Schooners	...	...	...	...	11	„
6 Gun Boats	...	...	...	...	6	„
13 Armed Merchant Steamers	...	...	...	...	41	„
2 Sailing Gun Boats	...	...	...	...	2	„
1 Transport Ship	...	...	...	...	4	„
1 School Ship	...	...	...	...	6	„

Total 52 vessels, with 402 guns,

besides thirty gun-boats built in the United States, armed with one large Parrot gun each.

Losses of the Spaniards.—General Buceta, in a letter published in the *Diario de la Marina of Havana*, stated that the official dispatches written to the Government by the officers of the army, in which

they claimed that the soldiers of Spain came out triumphant and unhurt from every action, were false. *El Cronista*, a paper published in New York, in the interest of the Spanish Government, confessed, that in 1869 out of the 26,000 men sent out to Cuba only 10,000 remained.

Spanish Finances in the Island.—On this subject the Havana correspondent of the *New York World*, whose letter is dated March 25, 1871, makes the following important statement:—“ Since the commencement of the war the government of the island has borrowed \$30,000,000 for its war funds, establishing at the same time extra taxes and extra export duties, the proceeds of which go to the redemption of that debt. So far, \$3,000,000 have been thereby cancelled, leaving \$27,000,000 yet due. Claims and war accounts that foot up \$4,000,000 are at present unpaid, so that the government's indebtedness because of the war, is now \$31,000,000. To supply in part the many additional demands upon the treasury arising from the war, taxation, import, and stamp duties, licenses, &c., &c., have been largely increased, so that the *Intendente* is now justified in estimating the revenues for the present fiscal year at \$21,730,900. This is an enormous sum to get out of an island with less than 1,500,000 inhabitants, of whom not 1,000,000 can be reached by the Spanish revenue gatherers. It is plain that additional increases are not to be seriously thought of, yet the present ordinary annual expenses of the government exceed \$19,000,000, leaving about \$2,500,000 for extraordinary expenses, a sum ridiculously insufficient. Other loans have in consequence been thought of, but so far have been found unrealisable. The Banco Español, having already due her \$24,000,000 or more, and stared in the face by nearly \$40,000,000 of bills in circulation for a capital of only \$5,000,000 and reserve fund of \$500,000, is very evidently not in a condition to make another loan, and so had to be passed by. Spanish capitalists of Havana having already given their shares for the support of the volunteer organisations, too, had to be unresorted to. The home government was consequently appealed to by Count de Valmaseda for 12,000,000 of very much needed dollars, but it had not the money to give, and its credit was too poor for it to be able to borrow that sum in aid of its no longer valuable province of Cuba.

Therefore, the Captain-General has not obtained the money he wants, and in consequence carries on the present campaign much weakened in strength compared with the corresponding campaign of 1869-70, as so truthfully stated. Above, as you will have noticed, fatal military inaction is mentioned as resulting from the financial embarrassments of the Spaniards. These not being removed, more inaction must again and again occur, revealing not only the decreased Spanish strength, but also the surety of the Cubans holding out until July, when the aspects of the war are certain to change most favourably for them."

IV.

ORGANIZATION OF THE REPUBLIC.

During the first month of the war, a provisional government was organized at Bayamo, with Carlos Manuel de Cespedes at its head, who, on the 30th of October, 1868, published a manifesto, declaring that he would not impose his government on the people of the Island, and that he was ready to submit to whatever the majority of the inhabitants decided.

On the 10th of April, 1869, a convention met at Guaimaro, presided over by Cespedes, and composed of Miguel Gutierrez, Eduardo Machado, Antonio Lorda, Tranquilino Valdes, and Arcadio Garcia, representatives from Villaclara; Honorato Castillo, representative from Sancti-Espiritu; José Maria Izaguirre, for Jiguani; Antonio Alcalá and Jesus Rodriguez, for Holguin; Salvador Cisneros, Francisco Sanchez, Ignacio Agramonte Lónas, Miguel Betancourt Guerra, and Antonio Zambrana, for Camaguey. A draft of a Constitution was laid before this body, which was discussed and amended until it was finally adopted, as follows :—

ARTICLE I.

The Legislative power shall be vested in a House of Representatives.

ARTICLE II.

To this body shall be delegated an equal representation from each of the four States into which the Island of Cuba shall be divided.

ARTICLE III.

These States are *Oriente, Camaguey, Las Villas, and Occidente.*

ARTICLE IV.

No one shall be eligible as Representative of any of these States except a citizen of the Republic, who is upwards of twenty years of age.

ARTICLE V.

No Representative of any State shall hold any other official position during his representative term.

ARTICLE VI.

Whenever a vacancy occurs in the representation of any State, the Executive thereof shall have power to fill such vacancy until the ensuing election.

ARTICLE VII.

The House of Representatives shall elect a President of the Republic, a General-in-Chief of its Armies, a President of the Congress, and other executive officers. The General-in-Chief shall be subordinate to the Executive, and shall render him an account of the performance of his duties.

ARTICLE VIII.

The President of the Republic, the General-in-Chief, and the Members of the House of Representatives are amenable to charges which may be made by any citizen to the House of Representatives, who shall proceed to examine into the charges preferred; and if in their judgment it be necessary, the case of the accused shall be submitted to the Judiciary.

ARTICLE IX.

The House of Representatives shall have full power to dismiss from office any functionary whom they have appointed.

ARTICLE X.

The Legislative Acts and decisions of the House of Representatives, in order to be valid and binding, must have the sanction of the President of the Republic.

ARTICLE XI.

If the President fail to approve the Acts and decisions of the House, he shall, without delay, return the same with his objections thereto, for the reconsideration of that Body.

ARTICLE XII.

Within ten days after their reception, the President shall return all Bills, Resolutions, and Enactments which may be sent to him by the House for his approval with his sanction thereof, or with his objections thereto.

ARTICLE XIII.

Upon the passage of any Act, Bill, or Resolution, after a reconsideration thereof by the House, it shall be sanctioned by the President.

ARTICLE XIV.

The House of Representatives shall legislate upon Taxation, Public Loans, and

Ratification of Treaties ; and shall have power to declare and conclude War, to authorize the President to issue Letters of Marque, to raise Troops and provide for their support, to organize and maintain a Navy, and to regulate reprisals as to the public enemy.

ARTICLE XV.

The House of Representatives shall remain in permanent session from the time of the ratification of this fundamental law by the People, until the termination of the war with Spain.

ARTICLE XVI.

The Executive Power shall be vested in the President of the Republic.

ARTICLE XVII.

No one shall be eligible to the Presidency, who is not a native of the Republic, and over thirty years of age.

ARTICLE XVIII.

All treaties made by the President may be ratified by the House of Representatives.

ARTICLE XIX.

The President shall have power to appoint Ambassadors, Ministers-Plenipotentiary, and Consuls of the Republic, to foreign countries.

ARTICLE XX.

The President shall treat with Ambassadors, and shall see that the laws are faithfully executed. He shall also issue official commissions to all the functionaries of the Republic.

ARTICLE XXI.

The President shall propose the names for the members of his Cabinet to the House of Representatives for its approval.

ARTICLE XXII.

The Judiciary shall form an independent, co-ordinate department of the Government, under the organisation of a special law.

ARTICLE XXIII.

Voters are required to possess the same qualifications as to age and citizenship as the Members of the House of Representatives.

ARTICLE XXIV.

All the inhabitants of the Republic of Cuba are absolutely free.

ARTICLE XXV.

All the citizens are considered as soldiers of the Liberating Army.

ARTICLE XXVI.

The Republic shall not bestow dignities, titles, nor special privileges.

ARTICLE XXVII.

The citizens of the Republic shall not accept honours nor titles from foreign countries.

ARTICLE XXVIII.

The House of Representatives shall not abridge the *Freedom of Religion*, nor of the *Press*, nor of *Public Meetings*, nor of *Education*, nor of *Petition*, nor any inalienable *Right of the People*.

ARTICLE XXIX.

This Constitution can be amended only by the unanimous concurrence of the House of Representatives.

On the following day (the 11th), the Assembly proceeded to elect their officers, and the following were chosen :

President	...	...	...	...	Salvador Cisneros.
Secretaries	...	...	...	...	{ Ignacio Agramonte Loynaz. Antonio Zambrana.
Vice-Secretaries	...	...	...	...	{ Miguel Betancourt. Eduardo Machado.

The House, then, in conformity with the provisions of the Constitution, appointed Carlos Manuel de Cespedes, President of the Republic, and Manuel Quesada, Commander-in-Chief of the army. These officers entered upon the discharge of their duties immediately.

At a later date several Representatives took their seats in the House: Jorge Milanés, for the district of Manzanillo; Manuel Gomez Silva, for Camaguey; Manuel Gomez Pena, for Guantanamo; Tomas Estrada, for Cobre; Pio Posada, for Santiago de Cuba; Fernando Fornaris, for Bayamo; and Pedro Agüero, for Las Tunas.

The first sessions of this Assembly were held at Guaimaro; they have since been held at Cascorro and Sibanicu.

Guaimaro is a town of 3,965 inhabitants, with 496 houses. It is fifty-five miles from Puerto Principe, thirty from Nuevitas, and thirty-six from Las Tunas.

Cascorro and Sibanicu are two towns, situated in close proximity to one another. They have together a population of 5,000 inhabitants.

Judiciary.—By the law enacted on the 6th of August, 1869, the Administration of Justice is vested :—

First—In a Supreme Court.

Second—In Criminal Judges.

Third—In Civil Judges.

Fourth—In Prefects and Sub-Prefects.

Fifth—In Courts-Martial.

The Supreme Court is composed of a president, two judges, and a judge advocate.

Each State of the Republic is divided into various judicial districts, each with a civil judge, a criminal judge, and an attorney for the Commonwealth.

Among other facts which denote the impartiality with which these courts administer justice, we will cite the case of a Cuban named Borjes, who was tried by them, and condemned to death for having murdered a Spaniard named Manuel Colza, a native of Santander.

Abolition of Slavery.—In including within their programme the abolition of Slavery, the Cubans have acted consistently with the whole tenor of all the petitions addressed to Spain at various periods. The most eminent writers and thinkers of Cuba—the men who by their teachings have prepared the way for the Revolution, such as Varela, Heredia, Luz Caballero, and others, have been abolitionists, and have suffered persecution, imprisonment, and exile in consequence.

The commissioners sent to Madrid in 1866 to propose the reforms demanded by the people in their political and social institutions, pronounced almost unanimously in favour of the gradual emancipation of slaves. One of the first acts of Carlos Manuel de Cespedes, in October, 1868, was to proclaim the abolition of slavery. On the 24th of February following, the Assembly of Camaguey decreed the same in an absolute and unconditional manner.

The Constitution of the Republic declares in its 24th article, that "all the inhabitants of the Republic of Cuba are absolutely free."

Administrative Organization.—In every State there is a civil governor. The States are divided into districts, each of which is governed by a lieutenant-governor, and these districts subdivided into prefectships and sub-prefectships. All these functionaries are elected by the people.

Laws passed by Congress.—11th May, 1869.—Law granting amnesty to all political prisoners not sentenced.

June 4, 1869.—Law prescribing the requisites for marriages and authorizing the same.

June 7, 1869.—Law declaring the commerce of the Republic *free with all nations*.

June 15, 1869.—Law authorizing the issue of \$2,700,000 legal tender paper money, the Republic promising to redeem it for specie at par as soon as circumstances should permit.

July 9, 1869.—Law organizing the different departments of the army, and ordaining that every citizen between the ages of 18 and 50 should be obliged to bear arms.

August 6, 1869.—Law regulating the administration of justice as aforesaid.

August 7, 1869.—Law describing the powers of the administration and the functions of the Secretaries of State, together with those of other civil officers.

V.

RECOGNITION BY FOREIGN POWERS.

Many of the Spanish-American Republics have hastened to express their sympathies in favour of their new-born sister.

The Mexican Congress authorized President Juarez to recognize the Cubans as belligerents, and gave orders that the Cuban flag should be admitted in the ports of that nation.

Cuban belligerency was acknowledged by Chili on the 30th of April, by Peru on the 13th of May, by Bolivia on the 10th of June, 1869; and by the United States of Colombia.

Peru recognized her independence on the 13th of June, 1869.

It is unnecessary to mention here the reasons which have prevented the United States of America from following in this particular the policy to which it was trebly bound, that is to say first, by traditional principle, again by the enlightened statemanship of self-interest, and lastly, and most potently, by the popular and supreme will manifested in many forms, in the public press, in the resolutions of Congress, of political State conventions, of immense

public meetings held in many places, and most notably, perhaps, by the organization and character of the "Cuban League of the United States." This organization, formed for the purpose of influencing the action of the Government, by giving expression to the popular desire, may undoubtedly be taken as a true representation of the American sentiment. Among its officers it numbers, as Vice-Presidents, the governors of all the States with one exception; the Hon. Horace Greeley, the Hon. Frank P. Blair, United States Senator, and late Democratic candidate for the Vice-Presidency of the United States, the Hon. Charles A. Dana, late Assistant Secretary of War, the Hon. Cassius M. Clay, late Minister of the United States at St. Petersburg; and on its Executive Committee in New York, the gentlemen named below, who it will be seen by any one familiar with American politics, represent all parties and every shade of political opinion :—

Gen. A. E. Burnside	Col. J. M. Macias
Gen. C. K. Graham	Gen. Wm. H. Morris
Gen. F. P. Blair	Gen. J. H. Van Alen
Gen. Cassius M. Clay	Hon. Douglas Taylor
Gen. Alexander Shaler	Hon. Gideon J. Tucker
Mr. Ethan Allen	Gen. Joseph J. Bartlett
Gen. Gordon Granger	Hon. John Oakey
Hon. Thos. E. Stewart	Mr. Bernard Casserly
Gen. C. W. Darling	Mr. E. C. Stedman
Gen. Joseph Hayes	Gen. Abram Duryea
General MARTIN T. MAC MAHON, <i>President</i> .	
Colonel HENRY C. LOCKWOOD, <i>Secretary</i> .	

The sentiment of the American people, in regard to Cuba, more nearly approaches unanimity than upon any other public question of the day. It is reasonable to hope, therefore, that it will at no distant day assume its legitimate expression in such executive action as will reverse the unfortunate position into which the Government of the United States has been betrayed. When that day comes Spain will have occasion to learn how blind and fatal has been the policy heretofore pursued in Cuba, and she may find at the same time that it is then too late to save, even by enlightened statesmanship, what is left of her influence and material interests in America.

VI.

PROPOSED SALE OF THE ISLAND TO THE UNITED STATES

It has been often rumoured and of late positively asserted in the public press that the Government of Spain proposes to sell the Island of Cuba to the United States for one hundred millions of dollars. As to this bargain little need be said. Neither Spain nor the United States can afford to accept the dishonour of its consummation, nor will Cuba willingly endure the shame of such a sale. Spain has no right to sell the Cuban people, and the United States cannot buy without a denial of the underlying principle of Republicanism. With that people alone can the United States consistently treat for the possession or purchase of Cuban territory, and there is nothing more certain than that the completion of any contract which reduces the population to the condition of chattels or dumb beasts will not only be repudiated by them, but will tend to alienate from the mother of republics the affection and respect of every true patriot in Cuba.

Moreover, no careful observer of events can ignore the fact that the people of the United States are averse to the purchase of territory; and this, not only as a question of principle, but as a matter of necessary economy. No American Congress would, under any circumstances, appropriate money to carry out the proposed bargain. If in the days of its unquestioned power the administration of President Grant was unable to obtain the paltry sum required for the purchase of Santo Domingo, how could it now, in the hour of its waning influence, secure from Congress the sum demanded by Spain for the purchase of an Island which she has not the right to sell nor the power to transfer? Do the United States propose to buy the Island from Spain, and enforce the bargain against the people of Cuba, who may repudiate the transaction?

To no good end can this wild project lead. If Spain needs money and would sell her uncertain rights to obtain it, let her sell to the people of the revolted colony. Cuba is paying for her independence with the blood of her children. Ten thousand times over would she prefer to pay in gold, and thus save the cherished lives which are

each day freely sacrificed in a cause she will not abandon. She can well afford to give the sum demanded, and furnish ample guarantees for its payment. This is the sole solution of the Cuban question as it now presents itself, by which Spain can save her honour, and at the same time replenish her treasury and preserve her share of the rich and growing commerce of her lost colony. Unless this is done the revolution must continue; for purchase by the United States is an idle dream, not entertained by statesmen. The insurrection is as strong to-day as ever—Spain cannot suppress it. Her power grows gradually weaker as the Island becomes impoverished by war. The determination of the Cubans is inflexible. Thirty thousand of their brethren have died for the cause, and absolute ruin has fallen upon innumerable families. They have been embittered by cruelties without number, and made desperate by exactions and confiscations without precedent since the barbarous ages. Nevertheless, the spirit of the people is unbroken. The future cannot add to the sufferings already undergone, nor introduce aught of evil not already experienced. They are fully inured to the worst their enemies may do. They hold and govern two-thirds of the Island. The Spaniards occupy an unprofitable sea-board at incalculable cost. They can have no permanent footing in the insurrectionary districts, nor can they resume control of the interior except by the extermination of its inhabitants, and this barbarous result is not to be obtained by pitiful raids and false bulletins of victory. Spain may indeed delay the end, but it is inevitable, and the longer it is deferred the more bitter will be the hatred which the mother country will inherit from the last of her colonies in America.

Since the foregoing pages were in type, we have received a pamphlet under the title of "Vindicacion," which has been published in Madrid by an able and impartial Spaniard. The ideas contained therein fully corroborate our own. It is much more favourable to the Cubans than we have dared to be for fear of being suspected of undue partiality to our own cause. We recommend it to all who desire to examine the Cuban Revolution in the light of truth, justice, and true patriotism.

SINCE the matter of this pamphlet was printed, we have obtained a copy of the following Spanish proclamation. The Captain-General of Cuba, Valmaseda, has been promoted to his post on account of the severities he exercised towards the Cuban people.

PROCLAMATION.

"Every man above the age of 15 years that is found outside of his domicile, that cannot give a satisfactory reason for being out, will be shot.

"Every house found without inhabitants will be burnt by the troops.

"Every house without a white flag, to show that the owner wishes for peace, will be reduced to ashes.

"All women who are not in their respective homes, or in the houses of their relatives, will be sent either to Jiguani or to Bayamo, where they will be fed. Those who do not go there voluntarily will be conducted there by force.

"Signed the 4th April, 1869, by Valmaseda, then General of Division, now Captain-General of the Island of Cuba."

C.F.R.

8/9/13.

